

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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R 081516Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6209

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 3753

EXDIS

EYES ONLY FOR HARTMAN FROM LAINGEN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, CY
SUBJECT: VISIT TO CYPRUS

1. I HAD BETTER GIVE YOU SOME IDEA OF TOTTH WHAT I WAS AND WHAT
I WAS NOT UP TO IN CYPRUS. PLUS SOME PRELIMINARY IMPRESSIONS.

2. ONE HAS TO GO THEN TO APPRECIATE THE ETHNOCENTRISM OF THE PLACE
AND THE ALMOST TOTAL PREOCCUPATION OF ITS PRESS WITH THE CYPRUS
ISSUE. MUCH IS MADE OF LITTLE. THE "LAINGEN VISIT" WAS HEADLINE
NEWS BEFORE I ARRIVED. LAINGEN HAD "A PLAN IN HIS POCKET", THE
MAIN ELEMENTS OF WHICH WRE BIZONALISM AND 25 PERCENT TURKISH
CYPRIOT AREA. THIS I SUPPOSEDLY HAD EXPLORED IN ATHENS AND
ANKARA AND I WAS "PREPARING THE GROUND" FOR THE CAGLAYANGIL VISIT
TO WASHINTON.

3. ALL THIS DESPITE THE BEST EFFORTS OF OUR EMBASSY TO EMPHASIZE
THAT I WAS THERE PURELY FOR ORIENTATION PURPOSES AND TO KEEP THE
VISIT AS INCONSPICUOUS AS POSSIBLE.

4. REMINDED BY YOU AND JOHN TZOUNIS IN ATHENS (WHO HAS HAD HIS
OWN TROUBLE IN CYPRUS) THAT THE LESS SAID DOWN THERE THE BETTER,
I TOOK THE PUBLIC LINE THAT I WAS THERE TO LOOK, LISTEN AND LEARN,
THAT I HAD NO PLAN, AND THAT OUR INTEREST WAS SIMPLY THE EARLIEST
POSSIBLE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST, PEACEFUL, AND DURABLE SETTLEMENT
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF VIENNA. (I TOOK THE SAME LINE PRIVATELY,
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PLUS EMPHASIZING THE POINT THAT WE HOPED ALL THE PARTIES WOULD

MAKE THE AGREED VIENNA PROCESS WORK WITH SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS AND A POSITIVE ATTITUDE.)

5. HAPPILY ALL THE SPECULATION ABOUT ME, CRAWFORD CONFIRMS, WILL BE FORGOTTEN BY MONDAY AND THE PRESS BY THEN WILL BE LOOKING FOR OTHER STRAWS TO GRASP.

6. BILL CRAWFORD WILL BE REPORTING ON OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERSHIP ON BOTH SIDES PLUS THE GREEK, TURK & UN REPRESENTATIVES. ALL ENORMOUSLY USEFUL TO ME AND PRODUCTIVE OF SOME INFORMATION. BUT ALL OF WHICH LEFT ME WITH LITTLE REASON FOR OPTIMISM.

7. THOUGH THE PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL MEMORY OF 1974 IS LESS, THE EXTENT OF BASIC DISTRUST BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES HAS TO BE SEEN AND HEARD TO BE BELIEVED. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS REVEL IN WHATEVER DISCOMFITURE THEY CAN CAUSE THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, AFTER THE YEARS OF ABUSE THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE SUFFERED. GREEK CYPRIOTS, WELL AWARE OF THIS ATTITUDE, SEE NO REASON TO CONTEMPLATE EVEN CONSIDERING THE KIND OF MODEST TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS THEY EXPECT FROM THE TURK SIDE. WHEY, THEY ASK, SHOULD WE EXCHANGE AN ADMITTEDLY BAD DE FACTO SITUATION FOR ONE THAT IS DE JURE BUT POLITICALLY WORSE?

8. ONE LOOKS NONETHELESS FOR EVIDENCE OF A POLITICAL WILL TO COMPROMISE AND THERE IS LITTLE TO FIND. NEITHER SIDE SEES THE PROSPECT FOR ANYTHING POLITICALLY MORE ACCEPTABLE THAN WHAT THEY HOLD NOW. DENKTASH SAYS MAKARIOS HAS NOT ABANDONED IN ANY WAY THE IDEA OF THE "GREEKNESS" OF THE ISLAND; HE MAKES NO SECRET OF BEING PREPARED TO SIT TIGHT INDEFINITELY. AND IN ANY EVENT, HE SAYS, ANKARA MUST ASSUME THE ONUS FOR ANY TERRITORIAL CHANGES. THE ARCHBISHOP PROFESSES TOTAL SKEPTICISM OF ANY TURKISH WILLINGNESS TO OFFER TERRITORIAL CHANGE OF A KIND THAT WOULD MAKE IT WORTH HIS WHILE. CLERIDES THE SAME, THOUGH HE REMAINS THE ULTIMATE PRAGMATIST. BUT THE ARCHBISHOP'S COMMANDING POLITICAL STRENGTH DRAMATIZES HOW NO SETTLEMENT IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT HIM.

9. AS FOR THE OTHER TWO PARTICIPANTS, ANKARA AND ATHENS, ONLY THE LATTER SEEMS TO HAVE REACHED THE HARD DECISION THAT EACH OF THE FOUR MUST ULTIMATELY MAKE BEFORE THERE IS A SOLUTION, I.E., THAT A CONTINUED STATE OF NON-SOLUTION IS TOO COSTLY IN TERMS OF THEIR OWN CONFIDENTIAL

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PERCEIVED INTERESTS. (BRITISH AMBASSADOR RICHARDS IN ATHENS, ALSO VISITING NICOSIA, SHARES THIS JUDGMENT OF KARAMANLIS, THOUGH POINTING OUT THAT THERE IS A LIMIT IN WHAT HE CAN BEAR POLITICALLY AS WELL IF A PROPOSED SETTLEMENT IS ONE THAT MAKARIOS COULD BRAND AS "PREJUDICIAL TO HELLENISM".)

10. US AMBASSADOR DE CUELLAR (WHO REPORTS THAT AT LEAST THE CLERIDES/DENKTASH HUMANITARIAN TALKS ARE WELL LAUNCHED) OFFERED

LITTLE EXCEPT TO EMPHASIZE IN ALMOST PLAINTIVE TERMS: "VIENNA
WILL NOT WORK WITHOUT MASSIVE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE":

11. ONE IS TEMPTED TO CONCLUDE THAT WE COULD AS WELL FORGET IT;
THAT 25 YEARS HENCE, NOT UNLIKE KASHMIR, WHATEVER EFFORT HAS GONE
INTO THE CYPRUS ISSUE IN THE WAY OF TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS AND
REALISM AND ALL THE REST, THE STATUS UQO WILL HAVE BECOME
REASONABLY PERMANENT AND NO ONE'S INTERESTS WILL HAVE SUFFERED ALL
THAT MUCH. BUT SOUTH ASIA WAS AND IS ONE THING IN TERMS OF OUR
PERCEIVED INTERESTS AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IS SOMETHING
ELSE.

12. NOT LEAST BECAUSE OF THE MOUNTING EVIDENCE TO BE SEEN AND
HEARD OUT HERE OF THE ADVERSE FALLOUT OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE ON THE
AEGEAN. CHICKEN AND EGG ARGUMENTS ASIDE, THE GROWING RISKS OF
AEGEAN INCIDENTS SURELY HEIGHTEN AS STALEMATE THREATENS ON CYPRUS.
THE GREEKS WENT WELL BEYOND POSTURING IN TELLING ME AT EVERY
OPPORTUNITY THAT THEY FEAR A BASIC ATTITUDINAL CHANGE ON
TURKEY'S PART IN ALL THE AEGEAN ISSUES. AGAIN, BRITISH AMBASSADOR
RICHARDS STRONGLY AGREES, WHO NOTES THAT WHILE THE GREEKS ARE
NOT WITHOUT FAULT ON THE AEGEAN, IT IS THE TURKS WHO ARE PRESSING.

13. THE WAY IN WHICH THE TURKS ARE SEEN AS THE KEY TO ALL OF THIS
WAS SYMBOLIZED BY CLERIDES' VERY FIRST QUESTION TO ME: COULD WE
CORROBORATE WHAT HE HAD HEARD FROM THE GERMANS IN BONN THAT THE
TURKISH MILITARY WAS NOW PREPARED TO PRESS THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
IN ANKARA TO TAKE A MORE FORTHCOMING POSTURE ON CYPRUS? I COULD
GIVE HIM NO SUCH ASSURANCE BUT ONE HOPES HE IS RIGHT.

14. ALL THIS IS NOTHING NEW. BILL CRAWFORD IS POUCHING YOU SOME GOOD
NEW IDEAS ON TERRITORY THAT HE AND HIS STAFF HAVE DONE. BUT
IT IS NOT IDEAS IN THAT AREA THAT ARE IN SHORT SUPPLY. IT IS
RATHER IN THAT WILL TO COMPROMISE ON THE PART OF EACH OF THE
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PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF COLDLY PERCEIVED RATIONAL INTERESTS.
WE STILL HAVE NO GOOD ANSWER ON HOW THAT IS ACCOMPLISHED. VOLPE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ROME03753
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760087-0769
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760384/aaaacwbx.tel
Line Count: 156
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <27 JUL 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VISIT TO CYPRUS
TAGS: PINT, CY, (LAINGEN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006